come without a valid excuse, but in point of fact everyone is eager to enjoy an evening's entertainment. The singers take their accustomed places behind the fire and the guests range themselves in the house without deference to rank. The singers strike up the kusiut song of anyone present, and the person so indicated dances. The first tune used is frequently that of X.'s father, and then of his mother, but there is no fixed rule on the point. Still choosing as they will, the singers beat out tune after tune, and guest after guest dances. Since none of the supernatural beings are present, the affair is, of course, of a non-sacred nature. After exhausting the most popular kusiut songs, the singers beat out the s sack song of one of many of the guests who, in succession, dance to them. Sometimes the singers continue until everyone present has danced, at other times they curtail the ceremony, as they think fit. When they decide to stop they intimate this to X.'s father who superintends the distribution of food, of any kind, to the guests.

The songs of shamans are used in like fashion.

During the course of the meal a fluent speaker stands up and expounds on behalf of X. the ancestral myth in which his son's ancestral name is embodied. Sometimes X.'s father acts as his own orator, but usually a herlad is called upon. The intimate details are nor given, merely sufficient to show the importance of X. The myth may be either be one of the most ancient type dealing with the first settlement of this earth, or one of later date describing the exploits of X.'s revered ancestors. As will be seen in the examples of these origin myths given in Chapter V, each contains an account of a marriage. It is always known, although not generally described in the myth, that at each of these marriages a number of dancers performed, their number varying between two and eighteen. The orator, when outlining the myth, stresses this portion of it, and always announces the number of dancers so employed; with the statement that X. will use a like number on the morrow. In the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X.'s mother, again with emphasis on the number of dancers used by her ancestors. X., a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights to dancers from both sources, though it is customary for him to use no more than five or six dancers. If it should happen that X. has no right to dancers from either his mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some

from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is that so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the children as yet unborn and their noble ancestors of old. Thus are they strengthened.

X.'s father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are selected primarily according to their skill in dancing, and secondarily with a preference to chiefs. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near them and cherish them as they dance. He also asks the assistance of some of the women who are professional droners, of whoever is the keeper of the marraige song handed down from antiquity in his ancestral family, and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so chosen to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual day of the marriage itself, X.'s father calls to his house those whom he had selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The dancers wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments (1) and carry circular wooden rattles provided with x handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X. to provide them. X.'s father Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the handles of the rattles". The symbolism is, of course, that these pelts are pads to protect the hands. In practice the dancers derive no benefit from the skins, since these are merely piled with others for later distribution to Y.'s family. A large amount of food has been prepared and placed in boxes, one for each member of Y.'s family. It is often difficult to estimate how many boxes will be required, and if it is found that there are too many, the dancers and other assistants eat the surplus.

When all are in readiness they rush forth; dancers, dancers' assistants and young relatives of X., followed more sedately by his father. The rest of the vil-

(1). At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper decorated blanket, while others said that there was no special attire, and one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X.'s first ancestor.

lagers watch with interest but do not take part in the ceremony. Choosing a position without Y.'s house, the singers beat out the time of the marriage song used by X.'s ancestors; if the words are known they ~~xhx~~ sing them. Like the prerogative of marriage dancers, there may not be a marriage song embodied in every origin myth, but if X. lacks such he is usually able to borrow to supply the deficiency. (1). The keeper of the song is stationed near the singers, ready to prompt them with the words or tune; if the singers are ignorant of the song it is the duty of the keeper to teach it to them. Meanwhile the dancers are performing on the side-walk outside Y.'s house. Each uses whatever type of dance he chooses, kuqiut, a sack, a lk or even shaman's, but all dance simultaneously, though without paying greater attention to each other than is necessary to avoid collisions. The professional droners accompany the singing with their hitch-pitched, quavering drone.

Meanwhile Y.'s father, surrounded by his relatives and friends are waiting in readiness within their house. Y. herself is present, taking as inconspicuous part as X. in the whole affair. As the singers start the marriage song, some of X.'s ~~k~~ relatives carry into Y.'s house a part of the goods which X.'s relatives have amassed for the occasion, and deposit them on the floor near the door, and then withdraw. These goods are said, "to sweep the house." Long ago they are said to have been of great value, though ~~xhxxxxxxx~~ nowadays small presents are considered ample. Any member of Y.'s family can accept the present by picking it from the floor, but as it is incumbent on the recipient to return the gift with goods of greater value, unless he wishes to sink in popular estees, it sometimes happens that no one wishes to do so. It is true that by a lavish return the recipient is able to demonstrate his chief-like generosity, but sometimes this is most inconvenient. Should none of his relatives appear willing to do so, it devolves on Y.'s father to accept the present.

When the marriage song has ended X.'s father gives to some strong youth a numb-

(1). The origin of marriage songs has been described in Chaper V. They are less strongly preserved as prerogatives than most elements of origin myths; in fact some ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ keepers of the songs are willing to perform at any wedding, although the writer believes this to be a modern development. The keeper, either man or woman, is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family, after discussion with the singers. It is his duty to remember text and tune, and the only pecuniary advantage is from the presents made by those to whom he teaches it. Some songs have words, others only a tune. The text of a song brought down by Aqquntam to Snutk ~~tk~~ is:—

"Hello, S nxalotka! We do as we have done before. Please make good the paty for those who are about to marry." Aqquntam obtained this song from his heavenly name-

er of narrow strips of goat-skin with the wool still attached. Carrying these in one hand the youth runs up and down the side-walk, waving his arms, and at intervals throwing one of the strips up into the air and away from him. All the younger people of the village are running after him, and a wild scramble ensues at each throwing of a strip. Sometimes, instead of running up and down, the youth goes to a clear space near Y.'s house, and there throws up the s sections of skin to be struggled for by the throng surrounding him. Only the sons of important chiefs are prohibited from seeking the strips, since this is thought to be beneath their dignity. It is an animated scene, and one in which the participants thrroughly enjoy themselves. The heralds have the right to seize any chief's son and demand his clothing. X Unless the boy is willing to have this taken from him, his fa her must give a present to the herald who has demanded it. This is a constant source of amusement to the on-lookers. The writer could obtain no explanation of the origin or meaning of the wholesale giving away of strips of goat-skin, nor why the heralds should be able to demand clothing on this occasion.

"It has always been done", the Bella Coola say simply.

When the noise has somewhat subsided, the singers again beat out the time of the marriage song, and again the dancers begin to dance. Y.'s father now sends out one of his male relatives, with presents, "to stop the dance". The bearer gives a present to one of the dancers, who ceases his gyrations, then to a second, a third, and so on until each has been stopped. These presents are non-returnable; in fact, they are rewards for adding to the dignity of the occasion, although the concept of pay is not felt as such by the Bella Coola. If Y.'s father is not wealthy, he may dispense with presents to the dancers, who before long stop xxxxxx of their own accord. When the song is finished, more strips of goat-skin are thrown out in the manner already described. Then the song is sung for the third time, accompanied by the dancers who have not been stopped by the receipt of gifts. Again Y.'s father's friend brings out presents, and stops more of the dancers. After another disposal of goat-skin, and a fourth singing, all the dancers have been stopped, Care is taken that at least one dancer is left to accompany the fourth singing of the song.

X.'s relatives now send in valuable presents to Y., her father, her mother,

her other relatives, and also to those who wish to associate themselves with Y.'s father in the marriage transaction, prompted by kindly feelings towards it, or it may be through a desire to display their wealth and importance publicly. The number of these individuals has been transmitted secretly to X.'s father, who is thus able to send one present to each, a canoe, a slave, a martem, lynx or grey skin blanket, or some equally treasured object. These presents are called 'weapons of war', since the assumption is that X. is acting like a warrior in taking something of value from Y.'s family. At the same time the goods which Y.'s father gave to stop the dancers are returned to him unostentatiously.

Y.'s father now invites X.'s party into his house by calling out,

"Om p winac, om p stalt'amx," "Enter you war-party, enter ye chiefs."

They come into the house and sit in a group in the place of honour behind the fire. Some of the other villagers may crowd in to watch, taking places near the front door, but taking no part in the proceedings. Y.'s father superintends a distribution of food to them, sometimes a lavish feast, at other times a small meal, depending on the food supply and the time of year.

Frequently, though not always, Y.'s father may wish to give X. one of his ancestral names on this occasion. If so, an eloquent speaker now gives the outlines of the myth in which the name is embodied, and announces that henceforth it is X.'s name. This designation is at once adopted and he is spoken of by it for the rest of the ceremony. Occasionally, X. will receive several names, perhaps from different myths belonging to the different ancestral families of which Y. is a member. Or her father may grant to X. the especial use of some hunting-ground, although with the marriage he naturally has the right to use any grounds to which he belong to his bride's ancestral family. Sisaok and Kusiut prerogatives may likewise be transmitted at this time, though they are never expounded, since some who are not members of these two societies may be present. X.'s family may desire to give some ancient name to Y., and if so the procedure is the same as that just as described.

It is necessary at this point to interrupt the ritual of marriage to describe rather more fully than was done in the previous section the status of names transferred by marriage. As has been mentioned, such may be given when the engagement is

announced, at the actual wedding, or, as will later be described, when the wife is re-bought from her husband. A transference from the family of X. to the family of Y. is only done as a mark of respect and friendly feelings, but a transference in the reverse way is necessary to establish the children on a firm footing. Accordingly, it is often delayed until after their birth, at a time when Y. rebuys herself from her husband. A name transferred at the wedding itself becomes the legal property of the recipient, but does not become the property of his ancestral family, since it cannot be transferred except to a child of X. and Y. If no children are born it is felt that the name has become practically dormant so that it can be recrudesced by a member of the donor's ancestral family. Thus the names appear almost as potential names for the offspring. Thus the names are virtually held in readiness for X.'s and Y.'s children, though legally this is not the case since in the meantime each belongs to some individual. A sentiment which enters into a transaction of this kind is that by giving a name to some member of the family of the other partner, shows a kindly disposition and trustfulness that it will be duly honoured by bestowal on the children of the couple. Indeed, some parents do no more than promise that if a grandchild is born they will give him a certain name, if a boy, and another if a girl and henceforth no one can take it for himself, even though it is not in use. As already mentioned, even when a name has duly passed to one of the children, it can be recalled in future generations by a return marriage. The bestowal of names, or the promising of them for the children yet unborn, is perhaps the most binding feature of the whole rite. Finally, mythology contains instances in which names, and other prerogatives, have been given away outright. Instances are cited by the Bella Coola where a father has given hunting-ground outright for the use of the relatives of his son- or daughter-in-law; to be a "food" for them. But of course the usual is merely to promise the use of them to the grandchildren.

Since the transference of names, or other prerogatives, is the matter around which Bella Coola marriage hinge, it appears advisable still further to digress in an attempt to analyse the concepts at the base of the transaction. If the contracting parties are members of different ancestral families, or even of different

branches of the same family, there is a feeling of strain and embarrassment at the intimate relations into which they are brought. There is a conflict of desires; on the one hand the wish to keep the family prerogatives from going afield, on the other a wish that they should go afield to show the respect they feel for the bride or bridegroom. If children result, the matter is simple, since they are equally the members of the ancestral families of mother and father and form a bond which draws the two social units into the closest kind of intercourse. Future marriages will then be sought by successive generations until the prerogatives of the two families become so closely interwoven that a child will indeed be born into the closely related ranks of ancestors from both parents. But when there are no children the matter is complicated, since the recipients of names not infrequently try to keep them unjustly. Indeed, they may do so with the best intentions, feeling that it would be a slight to the donors to return them. While [illegible] etiquette is not sufficiently exact well enough to stipulate what must be done; in fact, it often seems that trouble follows in any case, if the name is not returned, the donors are offended at it being so, whereas if it is returned they are offended that it has not been kept.

The following specific examples will help to explain this rather complex point.

Not many years ago the sister of one of my informants was married to a Delta Cowlitz man. At the wedding her brother, for her father was dead, expounded one of her family's origin myths, and she took to her husband a name from it. It was said to have been "hauled across", the word used being the same as employed for the dragging of a heavy timber, and the significance, of course, was to the importance and dignity of the name in question. On two later occasions the woman's family gave valuable presents to the man, thus doing their part to cement the cwt n, the strength which comes to both families by an interchange of presents to mark the dignity of marriage, in fact, the basic principle of marriage. Unfortunately, no children resulted. If the husband had wished to maintain these names for his own family, he should have arranged a further marriage between one of his relatives, and a relative of his wife, and so returned the value of the gifts which he had received. He did not do so, and thus lost all legal claim to the names in question. None the

less, he was indignant when his wife's brother duly validated one of these names for himself at a potlatch, as if it had been dormant.

The accompanying diagram-pedigree shows another instnace of the same kind. Smao n's daughter, Snutkanals,

Smao n =

as married

Ninits mlaix = Snutkanals = another woman

to

King George=

Ninits mlaix, and at

Jack King George = Qw k tl

the wedding her father promised

the name for any resultant children. No children were born, but Ninits mlaix illegally used the name, Smao n, for King George, his son by another wife. This naturally incensed the realtives of the first Smao n, especially as the debt could not be adjusted by the marriage of one of Ninits mlaix's daughters to one of their family, since there were no daughters. To make matters worse, King George passed the name to his son, Jack King George, and again there were no daughters to readjust the debt. Finally, Jack King George married Qw k tl, a relative of the first Smao n, without the usual lengthy period of engagement, and while she was still concealed for the year that follows puberty. No ch ldren resulted, by which the part of the debt could have been repaid. Thus, not only did Jack King George violate the customary ideas of decency, but in the course of three generations they obtained two women from the Smao n family without any recompense. Bitter feelings arose between the two families, and a few years ago one of the decsnedants of the first Smao n took the name for himself at a potlatch as if it had been dormant, thus arousing the ire of Jack King George. In 1915 two female relatives of Jack King George were murdered at Kimsquit. The slayer was never detected, but most of the Indians believe that it was done by one of Smao n's relatives, and that the dispute about names was quite sufficient to furnish excuse for the deed.

It is hoped that these two instances will serve to explain why the Bella Coola prefer marriages within the ranks of the ancestral family, when names are usually given outright, and not merely promised for the use of the future children.

After this digression, we return to the marriage of X. and Y. It will be re-

membered that the ceremony is taking place in the house of Y.'s father, and that the parents of each participant have expounded portions of their origin myths, and promised names for the resultant children.

Then Y.'s relatives give valuable presents to X.'s family, in each case including those who are associating themselves with the contract. These presents are of considerable value, canoes, slaves, blankets, and so forth; they are said to be "bed covering" for Y. The greater their value, the greater her prestige. Her father asks a fluent chief to address the assemblage, speaking as though he were Y. He says in effect:—

"My father, my mother, my brothers, my uncles, and their associates have given me my bed covering."

These presents are the binding feature of the wedding. They are said to lock the girl in her husnaband's house, and accordingly are sometimes called, "rope fastenings." This is only done when a woman is first married.

Another orator now holds forth on behalf of Y.'s father:—

"What we do to-day is no small matter. We have done to-day what was done in the days of yore, and what shall be done in the future."

One of Y.'s relatives now whispers to X.'s father that it is time to lead away the bride. One of X.'s party, either man or woman, comes forward, takes Y. by the hand and leads her to a place among X.'s people, close to X. himself. X.'s father gives the leader presents, which are not returnable. Without further ceremony, X.'s party returns to his house, taking the bride with them. She and X. usually sit close together for tye rest of the rite, but their actions are really of slight importance.

Perhaps an hour or so after the return from Y.'s house, a messenger is sent to invite her father and other relatives to X.'s house. The guests seat themselves behind the fire, and a number of others crowd int o watch and listen. X. and Y. are both present, but do not take anyleading part inthe ceremony. A large amount of food is given to them, provided of course by X.'s father, and as they are eating they are often given a few presents, which are termed "food". Then a fluent chief expounds in lofty style the manner in which X.'s ancestors were married in the days of antiquity. As soon as his speech is ended, X.'s father gives presents to Y.'s rela-